

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 086984  
ORIGIN DLOS-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY: D/LOS:A BERLIND  
APPROVED BY: D/LOS:A BERLIND  
-----117641 051124Z /11  
R 050007Z APR 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 086984

FOR USDEL LOS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ATHENS 2721 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA,  
BERN, BRUSSELS, LONDON, PARIS, USNATO, USUN NEW YORK, USDOCO-  
SOUTH 03 APR 78

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 2721

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PLOS, PEPR, GR, UT  
SUBJECT: FURTHER INFORMATION ON GREEK-TURKISH AEGEAN TALKS  
IN PARIS

REF: ATHENS 1515

1. DURING DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS WITH MFA DIRECTOR  
GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS TZOUNIS, DCM BROUGHT UP  
AGAIN THE QUESTION OF CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS IN PARIS  
LAST FEBRUARY. HE SAID THAT DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS  
RECEIVED FROM ANKARA, ATHENS AND ELSEWHERE HAD LED TO SOME CON-  
FUSION ABOUT WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE AND TO SOME FEELING  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 086984

THAT GOG HAD NOT REALLY BEEN INTERESTED IN SERIOUS  
NEGOTIATIONS. TZOUNIS HOTLY DENIED THIS AND WANTED  
TO KNOW WHAT THE TURKISH SIDE HAD REPORTED. WHILE  
DECLINING TO GET INTO DETAILS, DCM SAID OUR IMPRESSION  
FROM SEVERAL SOURCES WAS THAT GREEK SIDE HAD PRESENTED  
THREE PROGRESSIVELY LESS FAVORABLE PROPOSALS AND HAD  
REJECTED TURKISH PROPOSALS IMMEDIATELY WITHOUT EVEN  
REFERRING THEM TO ATHENS. DCM SPECULATED THAT ONE OF  
REASONS FOR OUR PERHAPS INCORRECT IMPRESSEION WAS THAT  
NEITHER IN ATHENS NOR WASHINGTON HAD WE BEEN ABLE TO

GET A VERY CLEAR OR COMPLETE EXPLANATION FROM GOG OF WHAT HAD OCCURRED, AND HE HOPED TZOUNIS MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

2. TZOUNIS STARTED BY REVIEWING PROPOSAL GREEKS HAD MADE TO TURKS IN JUNE 1977 TO WHICH NO TURKISH REPLY HAD BEEN RECEIVED AT TIME OF FEBRUARY 1978 PARIS TALKS. IN BRIEF, PROPOSAL WAS THAT WHERE CONVENTIONAL BOUNDARIES BETWEEN ISLANDS AND TURKEY EXIST BY TREATY OR CONVENTION THEY WOULD BE RESPECTED AND THAT NO CONTINENTAL SHELF RIGHTS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO TURKEY ON WESTERN SIDE OF THOSE ISLANDS. WHERE SUCH BOUNDARIES DO NOT EXIST, I.E., IN WIDE GAPS BETWEEN SEVERAL OF THE ISLANDS, GOG HAD PROPOSED THAT BOTH SIDES ACCEPT A MEDIAN LINE AS AFFECTED BY THE NATURAL PROLONGATION OF THE TURKISH CONTINENTAL SHELF. THIS SO-CALLED MARITIME FACADE CONCEPT WAS SIMILAR TO THAT USED IN THE NORTH SEA AND OTHER CASES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT WOULD RESULT IN SOME EXCLUSIVE NATIONAL AREAS OF CONTROL OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND SOME OVERLAPPING AREAS WHICH COULD BE ALLOTTED BY AGREEMENT. TZOUNIS SAID THIS PROPOSAL WOULD MORE THAN DOUBLE THE AREA ALLOTTED TO TURKEY UNDER ORIGINAL GREEK PROPOSAL, AND CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 086984

IT THEREFORE REPRESENTED SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION BY GOG. TZOUNIS SAID GREEKS HAD ALSO BEEN WILLING TO CONSIDER JOINT ECONOMIC VENTURES IN NON-EXCLUSIVE AREAS BUT ABSOLUTELY REJECTED ANY CONDOMINIUM OR OTHER CONCESSIONS AFFECTING GREECE'S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

3. ACCORDING TO TZOUNIS, DURING JUNE 1977 DISCUSSIONS TURKS HAD MERELY REPEATED PROPOSAL THEY HAD MADE TWO YEARS EARLIER, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE FARNER THAN BEFORE IN ADMITTING THAT WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND IN NON-EXCLUSIVE AREAS WAS REALLY CONDOMINIUM OR CO-OWNERSHIP. THIS IS ONE BIT OF EVIDENCE, TZOUNIS SAID, THAT IT IS ACTUALLY THE GREEKS WHO ARE NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY AND OFFERING CONCESSIONS WHILE TURKS ARE STANDING PAT.

4. AT PARIS TALKS IN FEBRUARY 1978 TURKISH NEGOTIATOR BILGE HAD ASKED "INGENUOUSLY" IF MEDIAN LINE MENTIONED IN GREEK PROPOSAL OF PREVIOUS JUNE MEANT A LINE HALFWAY BETWEEN CONTINENTAL MASSES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. TZOUNIS HAD REPLIED IT DID NOT, AS HE IS SURE BILGE ALREADY CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. MEDIAN LINE, TZOUNIS TOLD BILGE, WAS AS COMMONLY INTERPRETED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, THAT IS, INCLUDING ALL ISLANDS, ALTHOUGH GOG HAD OFFERED TO EXTEND TURKISH AREAS BY MEANS OF MARITIME FACADE. BILGE HAD THEREUPON IMMEDIATELY REJECTED GREEK PROPOSAL, CLAIMING IT WOULD LEAVE TURKEY ONLY EIGHT PERCENT OF

AEAGEAN'S CONTINENTAL SHELF, FAR LESS THAN IT WOULD BE ENTITLED TO UNDER ANY EXISTING LEGAL PRECEDENTS. (TZOUNIS DENIED TO DCM THAT GOG PROPOSAL WOULD GIVE TURKS ONLY EIGHT PERCENT, CLAIMING GREEK EXPERTS HAD MADE AT LEAST 20 DIFFERENT CALCULATIONS OF HOW MUCH SHELF WOULD BE ALLOTTED TO TURKEY UNDER THIS PROPOSAL DEPENDING ON HOW THE LINES WERE DRAWN. HE DECLINED, HOWEVER, TO INDICATE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM AREA WHICH TURKS WOULD GET UNDER ALL THESE CALCULATIONS.)  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 086984

5. HAVING REJECTED EIGHT-MONTH-OLD GREEK OFFER, BILGE THEN MADE TURKISH COUNTERPROPOSAL WHICH TZOUNIS SAID CONSISTED OF 15 PERCENT EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION FOR BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY WITH REMAINDER OF AEGEAN UNDER "COMMON EXPLOITATION". WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT MEANING OF "COMMON EXPLOITATION", ACCORDING TO TZOUNIS. THIS WAS, HE SAID, THE SAME OLD PROPOSAL TURKS HAVE PUSHED SINCE 1975 AND HE THEREFORE REJECTED IT ON THE SPOT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ATHENS FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

(A) BILGE'S PROPOSAL WAS BEYOND THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE PARIS TALKS WHICH CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON DELIMITATION, NOT APPORTIONMENT, OF CONTINENTAL SHELF. TZOUNIS SAID TURKS HAD AGREED TO THIS AS EARLY AS 1974 AND REITERATED IT IN BERN IN NOVEMBER 1976, STRASBOURG IN APRIL 1977, AND ELSEWHERE.

(B) GREECE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE AUTOMATIC SURRENDER OF WHATEVER EXCLUSIVE AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IT MIGHT BE ENTITLED TO UNDER 1958 GENEVA CONVENTION AND OTHER APPLICABLE PRECEDENTS, AND THIS WOULD HAVE RESULTED FROM BILGE'S PROPOSAL. ALTHOUGH TURKS HAD SAID THEY WOULD NOT ENCLAVE ANY GREEK ISLANDS BY INSISTING ON CONDOMINIUM TO THE WEST OF THESE ISLANDS, TURKS' PROPOSAL WOULD IN FACT ENCLAVE ISLAND UNDER THEIR DEFINITION OF "COMMON EXPLOITATION", AND FURTHERMORE JOINT VENTURES UNDER THESE CONDITIONS WOULD BE COMPLICATED BY CONFLICT OF NATIONAL LAWS REGARDING LABOR, SOCIAL SECURITY, LIABILITY, ETC.

(C) ACCEPTING 15 PERCENT OF AEGEAN AS TURKISH WOULD DISRUPT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTINUITY OF GREEK  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 086984

STATE, WHICH NATURALLY INCLUDES ALL THE GREEK ISLANDS. TZOUNIS SAID GOG FEARED TURKISH PROPOSAL WAS MERELY THE FIRST STEP OF PROGRESSIVE SALAMI TACTICS AND THAT EVENTUALLY GOT WOULD DEMAND CONVERSION OF ITS ECONOMIC ZONE TO TURKISH SOVEREIGNTH.

AND (D) BILGE'S PROPOSAL WAS CLEARLY A DISGUISED VERSION OF THE SAME TURKISH PROPOSAL MADE IN JUNE 1977 AND BEFORE, TZOUNIS SADI. SINCE HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BY THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF GOG TO REJECT THOSE PROPOSALS, HE SAW NO REASON TO CHECK WITH ATHENS AGAIN BEFORE REJECTING THIS ONE.

6. TZOUNIS CONTINUED THAT FTER PROPOSALS PRESENTED FIRST BY BOTH SIDES AT THE PARIS TALKS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AND REJECTED, HE HAD SUGGESTED THE TWO SIDES TAKE A LEAF FROM U.S./CANADIAN CONTINENTAL SHELF NEGOTIATIONS AND REVERSE THE USUAL PROCEDURE. GREECE AND TURKEY MIGHT FIRST AGREE ON BASIC PRINCIPLES SUCH AS THAT EACH COUNTRY WOULD HAVE AN EXCLUSIVE ZONE WITH THE REST OF THE AEGEAN DESIGNATED A ZONE OF DIVIDED ACCESS. AFTER AGREEMENT ON THESE PRINCIPLES, THE EXACT AREA OF EACH ZONE COULD BE DELINEATED LATER. ANY RESOURCES FOUND WITHIN TURKISH ZONE WOULD BE TURKISH, BUT 50 PERCENT OF ALL RESOURCES FOUND ANYWHERE ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO EACH COUNTRY AT WORLD PRICES. TZOUNIS CLAIMED HE HAD MADE THIS OFFER ONLY AS AN EXAMPLE OF ANOTHER POSSIBLE APPROACH WHICH MIGHT BREAK THE IMPASSE. IT HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO DEFER DELIMITATION OF EACH COUNTRY'S EXCLUSIVE AREA UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT MIGHT BE POLITICALLY MORE PALATABLE. AS PART OF THIS

PACKAGE, TZOUNIS SAID HE HAD TRIED TO ACCOMMODATE TURKISH SECURITY CONCERNS WHICH BILGE EXPRESSED BY SUGGESTING A JOINT DECLARATION THAT ALL AREAS OF DIVIDED ACCESS WOULD REMAIN AS HIGH SEAS. IF THIS DID NOT SATISFY TURKS, TZOUNIS SAID, SPECIAL AGREEMENTS COULD CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 086984

BE DRAWN UP TO MEET THEIR LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT ACCESS TO TURKISH PORTS, FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION, AND SO ON.

7. AFTER CONSULTING WITH ANKARA, BILGE HAD REJECTED GOG APPROACH. ONLY THEN, TZOUNIS SAID, DID HE TELL BILGE THAT GOG WOULD NOT BE BOUND IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS TO ANY PART OF ITS MOST RECENT OFFER, SINCE TURKS HAD REJECTED IT. HE SAID HE TOLD BILGE THAT GOG WOULD NOT BE PARTY TO MIDDLE EAST BARGAINING TACTICS WHICH WOULD ALLOW TURKS TO SAY, "WE ACCEPT THIS PART OF YOUR OFFER, NOW WHAT ELSE WILL YOU CONCEDE?". TZOUNIS THEREUPON SUGGESTED TO BILGE THAT THEY WAIT UNTIL AFTER MEETING OF PRIME MINISTERS BEFORE TACKLING THE PROBLEM AGAIN.

8. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR FROM COMMENTS BY TZOUNIS AND OTHERS THAT GREEKS BELIEVE THEY ARE THE ONES TRYING TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AND THAT TURKS ARE STANDING PAT ON THEIR ORIGINAL DEMANDS. IN THE ABSENCE OF

PROGRESS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, GOG THINKS DISPUTE  
SHOULD BE SETTLED BY INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
OR THIRD-PARTY ARBITRATION AS HAS OCCURED IN SIMILAR  
CONTINENTAL SHELF CASES ELSEWHERE. THE FACT THAT  
TURKS REFUSE THESE ALTERNATIVES EVEN THOUGH THE  
DECISION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE GREATLY IN THEIR FAVOR  
CAUSES MANY GREEKS TO SUSPECT TURKS HAVE ANOTHER  
OBJECTIVE IN MIND; THEY FEAR IT IS EXPANSION OF  
TURKISH SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AEGEAN. WHETHER TZOUNIS'  
LATEST ACCOUNT IS FULL STORY OR PARIS TALKS OR NOT,  
GREEKS AT MANY LEVELS CLEARLY FEEL THEY ARE DOING THEIR  
PART TO SETTLE THIS DISAGREEMENT AND THAT IT IS TIME  
FOR SOME TURKISH FLEXIBILITY.

MCCLOSKEY  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 086984

UNQUOTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CONTINENTAL SHELF, AEGEAN, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 apr 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE086984  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** D/LOS:A BERLIND  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780146-1189  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197804109/baaafcic.tel  
**Line Count:** 239  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** c335bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN DLOS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** ATHENS 1515  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2829540  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FURTHER INFORMATION ON GREEK-TURKISH AEGEAN TALKS IN PARIS  
**TAGS:** PLOS, PEPR, GR, TU  
**To:** n/a INFO GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/c335bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014